

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 8, 1878.

The Week.

THE week has produced one good sign in politics and another bad one. The Maine Republicans have, without ifs or buts, made the financial question the most prominent plank in their platform. It is true that when they demand "honest money for the people," and declare that "the currency must be as good as coin and redeemable in it," they probably mean depreciated silver as well as gold coin; but they nevertheless denounce all schemes of paper inflation, and even Mr. Blaine, this time drawing his feet firmly together, vehemently reprobated repudiation of the paper obligations of the Government in all its forms. Besides "pointing with pride," the remainder of the platform approves of "temperance among the people" and of the navigation laws, and exposes the evil designs of the Democrats, including the payment of \$100,000,000 of suspended war claims.

The bad sign is the breakdown of Mr. Foster, of Ohio, one of the ablest and most clear-headed and rational members of the late House, who, after prominently supporting Mr. Hayes's wise, because inevitable, course towards the South, has gone back to his constituents, and, finding them probably cool or hostile towards the Administration and being a candidate for re-election, has abandoned his old position and virtually admitted that "the policy" is a failure. The reasons he gives for coming to this sad conclusion are that (1) the Southerners have not shown their gratitude by voting the Republican ticket; (2) that the illicit distillers at the South are angry when the United States revenue officers visit them; (3) that Jeff. Davis makes treasonable speeches; and (4) that Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, says "that his paramount allegiance in peace and war is due to his State." As a remedy for this deplorable state of things Mr. Foster proposes that the "Solid South" should be for an indefinite period confronted by the "Solid North," which of course means that the one business of the Republican orator and editor and politician at the North shall be abuse and depreciation of the South, and the promotion of hostile feelings towards Southern men. The objections to this piece of statesmanship are that a Solid North cannot be obtained for any such purpose, and that a party which had no better reason than this to give for its existence would soon become a powerless, cursing, and vituperating Rump, and this is what the Republican party is in danger of becoming if such counsels as Mr. Foster's are followed. No party can in our time live on hate alone: it must show the capacity to govern. A man of Mr. Foster's sense surely cannot expect the South to reveal in one short year its gratitude for having been subjected for twelve years to the rule of the little party of jail birds who have been testifying before the Potter Committee.

In this State the campaign cannot be said to have begun, but the preparations for it have. It will be a very important one, for on it will depend not only the selection of Mr. Conkling's successor in the Senate, but the future of the "greenback-labor" movement, and also in part of the Democratic Presidential nomination of 1880; to say nothing of the mayoralty in this city, which promises to give the politicians a great deal of trouble. The mayoralty question the *Herald* proposes to settle by giving the office either to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, Mr. George Jones, or Mr. Charles A. Dana. This, however, seems to be advanced in jest rather than seriously. Following the example of our "esteemed daily contemporaries," we have interviewed leading Democrats on the situation, whose names we withhold from the same motives of delicacy which influence them. They report that Mr. Tilden has cut loose from many of his former friends

and associates, and is relying in his present movement chiefly on the country and Kings County Democracy; that in the convention which is to be held before long he relies on both Tammany and anti-Tammany delegations being excluded until the organization is captured by his forces, after which he expects to have virtual control of the State. We have also learned that the anti-Conkling party, or Administration Republicans, expect to be beaten in their fight for the control of the machine. It is to be noticed also that Tammany Hall has lost the support of very nearly the entire press of the city, without anybody having gained it.

No reasonable man can honestly deny that, everything considered, the progress of the South since March, 1877, has been remarkable. If any one will take up the predictions of the Republican papers during the fall of 1876 as to the consequences of Wade Hampton's election in South Carolina, for instance, and contrast them with the reality to-day, he will be amazed. The negroes are growing in wealth, in intelligence, and in self-respect all over the South. They are in the enjoyment, for the first time, of security for person and property, and with the growth of wealth and intelligence political weight must come. No combinations of the whites can prevent it. Signs of division in the white ranks already show themselves in various States, and as these divisions grow the negro vote must become more and more independent. Wade Hampton has already a crazy reactionary movement started against him by General Butler; in Georgia Alexander H. Stephens has had another, and has triumphed over it, and in Tennessee and Kentucky the "Bourbon element" and the nascent National party have been beaten by a combination of Republicans and Liberal Democrats. Anybody who, instead of encouraging these healthy symptoms by a spirit of conciliation and kindness, produces hate and discord and fratricidal passions as a remedy for evils which the experience of a thousand years has proved that they cannot cure, is a public enemy, besides being a fool.

Mr. Hewitt's House Committee, charged with the duty of enquiring into the condition of the laboring population, have been rendering the community a good deal of service during the week by giving a hearing to all the apostles and evangelists of the labor movement who presented themselves, and the result is reassuring as showing that there is no general agreement among them on any scheme for the reorganization of society. Each reformer is, in fact, a "solitary thinker," and most of the schemes produced have been so absurd, and in such flagrant contradiction with all the facts of life, that when produced by poor men who have to earn their living there is a certain pathos in their folly. One feels that a man whose brain harbors such fancies cannot earn a living, and must be supported by somebody or starve. Most of them, too, showed that they never discussed their hobbies with any one of a different way of thinking, for a single question from the committee often disconcerted them. It was indicative of the utter ungeniality of the American atmosphere for these dreamers that most of their plans caused great laughter among the audience. Their opportunity came to an end on Tuesday. Hereafter the committee will summon their own witnesses, and hear what the sane and well-informed have to say.

Kearney has made his appearance at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, where he has delivered one of his blasphemous harangues to a tumultuous crowd of workingmen, who appeared greatly delighted with his oratory and indulged in enthusiastic cheering over the name of Butler. The General has had a meeting with Kearney, in which the latter propounded several "constitutional questions" on the subject of the Chinese, which the General justly observed "required time for thought," and took home with him. They talked over the various ways of dealing with capitalists, including robbing and

hanging, but came to no decision as to the best plan, Kearney reminding the General that men like Vanderbilt were called "thieves" on the Pacific coast; the General admitting that the proposition might be justified by the facts, but indicating a philosophical desire to lay the blame "on the system rather than on the men." Butler seems sure of the workingmen's nomination for governor. With this hanging over the community and his new California "pal" belching forth in Faneuil Hall curses and threats against everything that has made the State prosperous and civilized, and a large party rising into sudden power based on the "social theories" of this pair, Massachusetts presents a pretty spectacle to the world.

As we have said more than once, the silver craze must not be allowed to pass away, and the experiment of a double standard composed of two metals of widely different value be abandoned, without the punishment of at least some of those who have been most active in inducing the country to try it. This punishment need not, and perhaps ought not to consist in the infliction of any legal penalty; simple withdrawal for a short period from the public gaze, as a sign of shame or sorrow, would be sufficient. The two persons who have most prominently exposed themselves to this penalty are Messrs. Halstead and Medill, and we have supposed them both to be men of too much dignity not to go into exile when the time for it has plainly come. We are therefore pained to find Mr. Halstead framing excuses for postponing indefinitely his own departure for Europe. He assured us that if we insisted on "making the bonds and other contracts payable in gold," the Greenbackers would end by paying the contracts in inconvertible paper, and that the way to escape this danger was to make them payable in depreciated silver. In other words, he advised us, by way of preventing a total robbery, to agree to participate in a robbery of ten per cent., he guaranteeing that, this done, honesty would resume its sway. So we joined him in the ten per cent. robbery, but we now find that the robbery of the remaining ninety per cent. is more popular than ever, and has a large party in its favor. On mentioning this to him, he replies that the men who did not want to rob at all and the ten-per-cent. robbers must still "stand together" on what he calls "high and firm ground"—that is, we presume, the ground that it is inexpedient to cheat more than ten per cent.; but we quite agree with the Greenbacker that this is a purely arbitrary line, which neither Mr. Halstead nor any other moralist has a right to fix. We therefore warn him again that there is no use in waiting or temporizing. Nothing will turn up to help him out of his trouble. His pursuer is Law, and it follows him "without haste, without rest." He may run fast now and then, and occasionally hide himself in the bushes, but it will surely overtake and lodge him with unerring hand in the cabin of an ocean steamer.

Mr. Manton Marble has addressed a letter to the papers on the subject of "the Fraud," to which the anti-Fraud press gives considerable prominence, but which the journals that "hold Fraud sacred" treat with ridicule and contempt. Mr. Marble, who was during the electoral trouble of 1876 a close friend of Mr. Tilden, now declares that the prevailing impression that Mr. Tilden had no plan of his own for the settlement of the disputed title to the Presidency is entirely erroneous; that he had a plan and a very distinct one. His idea, it seems, was that the Democrats, having the right of the matter and not contemplating any revolutionary plans, should simply stand upon the constitutional doctrine that both houses had equal and co-ordinate rights in the counting of the votes; and that as to the contingency of the failure of an election (in which case the House elects) the House was itself the sole judge of its arising. The effect of this plan would have been to throw the responsibility of any act of usurpation on the Republicans. The two houses would, of course, have disagreed as to the count of the disputed States, and if the House persisted in its view one of two things would have happened—either enough Republicans in the Senate would have gone over to the Democratic side to secure the election of Mr. Tilden, or the House would, at the last moment, have declared the popular election null and void and proceeded to

elect him itself. In neither case would any force have been resorted to, and in either case, according to Mr. Tilden, the moral superiority of the Democratic position must have made it triumph in the end. If force was resorted to, it must be by the Republicans. In other words, his plan was a policy of delay. Mr. Hewitt, it should be observed, does not corroborate Mr. Marble in his description of Mr. Tilden's attitude, though agreeing with him as to the opposition of the Democratic candidate to all the plans actually proposed. Mr. Hewitt represents him as urging delay, without any plan of his own, and when informed that something must be done at once, begging for more time for the purpose of maturing a plan. If we are to take Mr. Marble's statement as the correct view, the only trouble with Mr. Tilden's plan was it could not have been carried out; the Democrats themselves had not the nerve, and, indeed, it may be said that the country had not the nerve, to let things drift along until the 4th of March without any action at all. Mr. Marble, too, is entirely in error in representing the Electoral Commission plan as a surrender to the Republicans. Mr. Hewitt's telegram of January 16, 1877, to Mr. Edward Cooper—"Our Senate friends earnestly favor acceptance, because they do not believe it possible to pass over"—gives the general Democratic feeling at the time. "—" is, of course, Judge Davis, who it was then confidently believed would be the fifth judge. Mr. Marble's letter is long and able, though full of a funny sort of lego-scriptural rhetoric.

It will be remembered that Insurance-Superintendent Smyth, of this State, was arraigned last spring before the Senate and by them acquitted of unlawfully collecting the costs of examination from the companies direct, instead of from the State, after the bills had been audited by the Comptroller. One of the Senators who sat on this trial, and voted for acquittal, was Mr. Harris, of the law firm of Harris & Rudd, who had in his professional capacity advised Mr. Smyth that he might safely disregard the express provisions of the statute. The same firm recently submitted to the Comptroller a bill against the Germania Insurance Company for his audit, but with the intention of presenting it to the company for payment. The Comptroller thereupon consulted Attorney-General Schoonmaker as to the propriety of his auditing and paying this bill without a hearing on the part of the company, although the Legislature had made no provision for such a hearing; and also as to the propriety of the company's direct payment of the bill, with or without the Comptroller's audit. The Attorney-General replies that the Comptroller is clearly bound, under the statute, to audit and pay the bill from moneys appropriated for the purpose; that he must do so even if the provision for reimbursing the State from the companies is defective or nugatory; that, although the law does not explicitly provide for a hearing on the part of the companies, nevertheless, as the act of auditing is a judicial one, it implies such a hearing, with authority to examine witnesses and to require verification or proof of the bills. He therefore considers it the Comptroller's duty to hear the parties, and to take testimony if offered or if it appears necessary. That the companies should settle directly with the examiners of the department or their attorneys is distinctly prohibited and illegal. This opinion relieves honest companies of blackmail, but, as it leaves the amount of the bill still to be fixed by the department, there is a considerable margin for "squeezing" in the case of companies not anxious to be heard at the auditing. The Attorney-General says that the courts must decide whether, under the right of supervision, any sum may be collected of a company, "even to the extent of disabling it to transact business."

The Indian "war" has degenerated into a scarcely-exciting pursuit of the various scattered bands which when united gave some color to the idea that the outbreak was a formidable one. It is now evident that the hostile force was always insignificant in point of mere numbers, and that we have been hunting down a desperate few who preferred death in the field to starvation at the agency. That these were the manlier part of the tribe, whose lives ought to

have been preserved by Government care as they would have been by natural selection, no one in his sober senses will deny. Reports have been received from the San Carlos Agency in Arizona that the Indians there were in a starving condition, and were resolved, if not relieved immediately, to leave the reservation. General McDowell has urged upon the War Department the economy of feeding them rather than fighting them, as the Territory has been stripped of troops for the Northern operations, and even if an abundant force were available they could not be kept from depredations if driven to them by hunger. Governor Hoyt, of Wyoming, has visited the Shoshonis, Bannocks, and Arapahoes in their reservations and found them destitute of food and agricultural implements, and bitterly complaining of Government neglect and promises unfulfilled.

In the financial markets the events of the week were the advance in the Bank of England discount rate to 4 per cent., the continued large demand for U. S. 4 per cent. bonds, and the decline at the New York Stock Exchange in the price of speculative stocks. The rise in the rate for money in London was caused by the drain of gold to the Continent and by the appearance of new corporate loans. These latter, during June and July, amounted to nearly \$100,000,000, or more than twice as much as during the corresponding months in the two previous years. Bills on London here advanced to 4.87½ for short-sight drafts, partly owing, however, to the scarcity of commercial bills incident to the wheat speculation at Milwaukee and the appearance of yellow fever at New Orleans, which, it is feared, will delay the cotton movement. The popular demand for U. S. 4 per cent. bonds has not abated; the sales average about \$1,000,000 per day. Another \$5,000,000 of 5-20 6 per cents was called in for redemption, making \$50,000,000 so called since May 1 on account of the sales of 4 per cents. The decline in railroad stocks was largest in the shares of the Western railroads which derive their grain-tonnage from the States of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. It appears that the damage to the spring wheat in parts of these States has been important, but there is little doubt that the injury has been overestimated in the prices of stocks, as is usually the case at the Stock Exchange. The decline in these stocks during the last week was 4 to 7 per cent.; the decline since the injury to the crops was first talked of is 16½ to 22 per cent. Silver in London has been steady at 52½d. to 52¼d. per ounce. The bullion value of the 412½-grain silver dollar at the close was \$0.8394.

The English Liberals have, as was expected, been badly beaten in the division on Lord Hartington's motion of censure, the number being 333 to 195. The difficulty they have to contend with may fairly be pronounced insurmountable. Their real charge against Lord Beaconsfield is that, after having threatened to deprive Russia of the fruits of the war and set Turkey on her legs again, he has let Russia have all she could reasonably ask for, besides joining her in a spoliation of Turkey which she never proposed, and all to the manifest benefit of the Christian population. But this, if true, only proves Lord Beaconsfield to have been inconsistent to the point of charlatanry and to be unworthy of the confidence of sober-minded men; it does not prove that he has made a wrong settlement of the Eastern question as regards England, and it is the settlement only the people see; about the jugglery they do not concern themselves. As regards the Asiatic Convention, too, no Liberal can deny that it will be a good thing for the Christian population if carried out; all he does say is that it is too big a job for England to undertake without the consent of Parliament; but here again the Premier has his enemies at a disadvantage, for people do not mind the bigness of the undertaking as long as it redounds to the national glory, until the bills begin to come in. Five years hence the matter will probably wear a different aspect. In the meantime Beaconsfield and Salisbury are revelling in popular applause.

The only Philo-Turk who has come out of the affair with moral credit is the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which is now taking a savage pleasure

in putting the reasons Lord Salisbury gives for the Anglo-Turkish Convention side by side with the ridicule he heaped, only a year ago, on the alarmists who thought Russian advances in Asia Minor were likely to endanger British interests; but here again what the opponents of the ministers really say is, "Why, you rascals, you have come round to our way of thinking," and the ministers only laugh and the mob cheers. The Asiatic enterprise, however, does not improve on examination, and the Liberals will probably find compensation for their present trials in watching the attempts to execute it. Lord Beaconsfield has performed another happy theatrical *coup* in appointing the Marquis of Lorne Governor-General of Canada. The Liberals would never have thought of the spectacular effect of this, but would have considered Lord Lorne's mental and political claims to the place. For these Lord Beaconsfield does not care a cent, but goes straight to the Canadian heart by setting up a Court at Ottawa with a Princess of the blood at the head of it. The great popular success of all these devices gives some idea of the mortifications wrought by much of the Liberal foreign policy. We have no doubt, for instance, that the Geneva Award, and the sight of the unexpended millions in the Treasury here, have rendered the present Ministry incalculable silent service among thousands of voters.

The debate in the House of Lords when Lord Beaconsfield laid the Treaty and protocols on the table was not particularly interesting, the Premier's speech being mainly an apologetic iteration of well-known facts. What was most valuable and important in it was Lord Derby's and Lord Northbrook's exposition of the probable difficulties of executing the Anglo-Turkish convention, by which Great Britain undertakes to see that the Sultan reforms one of the worst governments in the world—or, in other words, that all the pashas, mudirs, and cadis do their duty, that the taxes are fairly collected and honestly spent, justice well administered, and the roads policed over an enormous area. People in England have a vague idea that the problem can be solved as it has been solved in India, by a system of "residents"; but Lord Derby pointed out that in India the British resident at a native court has the supervision of the prince all to himself, while in Turkey there will be a "resident" from every one of the great Powers in every district, each with the right to advise the Turks, and all jealous of England. If, under these circumstances, the Turk proves a tractable pupil in civilization, it will argue a wonderful change in his nature.

The seeds of immediate or very near trouble seem to lie in the fact that Greece feels that she has been cheated by the Treaty and made a mistake in taking England's advice not to fight; and that, both in France and Italy, and especially in Italy, the public feels that its representative cut a small figure in the Congress, and ought, when the division of the spoil was going on, to have secured something, or to have conspicuously and successfully championed somebody's cause. The result will probably be that France will now take Greece up and egg her on, and make her a thorn in the side of the Porte. The Italians are furious, and their excitement seems to grow every day, thinking that when Austria got so much Italy ought to have secured those bits of Italian soil which are still under Austrian sway, Trieste and the Trentino—"Italia irredenta," or unredeemed Italy, as they call it. Indignation meetings are being held in various parts of the country at which the Government is denounced in unmeasured language, and the Ministry have had to address reassuring explanations to Austria. Lastly, the Bosnians and Mussulmans, probably with instigation from Constantinople, are resisting the Austrian troops in a small way, and the occupation will probably not be completed without bloodshed, and perhaps a resort to stern measures of repression after its completion. The Mussulman beys, or great landholders, have been for centuries a turbulent ruling class, real birds of prey, rebellious towards the Porte and fiercely rapacious towards the Christians; and the first work of the Austrian Government, and the most valuable, will be reduction of them to obedience to law.

THE GREAT ECONOMICAL DIFFICULTY OF THE DAY.

ONE of the most marked results of the application of steam and improved machinery to industrial operations during the last fifty years has been the rapid accumulation of great masses of capital available for the work of still further production. These masses of capital are known to the general public as "great fortunes," and for the most part are thought of not as capital so much as money possessed by individuals for the purposes of personal enjoyment. Nine out of ten, for instance, we venture to assert, among the farmers and workingmen, whenever they heard of the late A. T. Stewart being the owner of \$50,000,000, thought of it as a sum which Mr. Stewart amused himself with or spent in luxury, or did something with that was not quite right—they could not tell exactly what. The probabilities are, too, that if they talked the matter over with one of the social reformers of the day he agreed with them in thinking that no one man ought to be allowed to have as much money as that; that it was not good for him or for the community; and that it was a great pity that some safe means could not be devised of preventing his acquiring it, or taking it away from him after he had acquired it, on the assumption that the more he had the less other people had. Of course the remedies proposed for the evils of great fortunes are various. The more moderate reformers would fix a maximum at which each person's accumulations should cease, or put on a progressive tax which would make accumulation beyond a certain point difficult or impossible. The radicals would seize the whole of it, and have it used and managed by the state for the employment of labor and the more equitable distribution of happiness. But the idea which, whatever its cause or aims, underlies all hostility to the possession of great amounts of money by individuals is the same—viz., that the individual owner makes a bad use of it, and that with a little pains somebody could be found who would use it better. It is this which inspires all the diatribes in Congress and at labor meetings against the "money kings," which in many minds makes increasing poverty of the poor an inseparable concomitant of increasing riches of the rich, and which inspires most of the attempts to increase the control of the Government over industry, either in the shape of inspection or regulation, or of the execution of "public improvements." Talk to anybody you please who is mourning over the badness of the times and thinks there is some other way of recovery than through industry, economy, and security, and you will find that he is possessed by the idea that the capital—i. e., the accumulated wealth of the country—is in bad hands, and that the Government should either force the present possessors to part with it somehow or should itself seize it, through taxation or confiscation, and use it in the work of production, under the superintendence of its own officers; and he assumes that there would be no difficulty in finding the right kind of officers for the work for very moderate salaries.

Now the painful truth is—and it is a truth which the occurrences of every day make plainer and plainer—that, so far from there being a superabundance of the kind of talent needed to manage great sums of money profitably or usefully, there is a great dearth of it. The men who own large fortunes and use them in the work of production and exchange may be said, as a general rule, to be the men who are best fitted to discover public wants and supply them. The great capitalist is, in other words, generally a man who has been appointed by natural selection to take charge of a portion of the savings of the community and use them to the best advantage in producing and exchanging. He gets hold of the capital, first, by knowing what is likely to be profitable, and, secondly, by knowing how to take care of the profits after they are made; and his remuneration for his services consists in the portion of the profits he spends on himself, which in this country seldom exceeds forty or fifty thousand a year. The rest he reinvests or lends to other producers. That his talent is a very rare one is proved by the very small number of men who make fortunes and keep them, or who, having inherited fortunes, do not lose them, and by the enormous difficulty which exists in finding

persons equal to administrative duties, even of the simplest kind. There is probably no employer of labor who cannot testify to the trouble there is in filling any place which calls for the exercise of judgment and discretion, or, in other words, which cannot be filled under precise instructions, or which requires any unusual combination of mental and moral qualities—say the union of clear-headedness with energy and persistence, or strong reasoning power with tact in dealing with men, or great business capacity with strict integrity. The head of a great factory, or mine, or railroad needs all these in the highest degree; a corporation which gets hold of such a man for its president or treasurer almost invariably succeeds; for want of such officers most of the corporations which are started are sooner or later wrecked and hundreds of millions of capital lost. In fact, we do not hesitate to say that were the administrative talent of the country increased by one-third, production would be more than doubled, and the security of the savings of the frugal increased ten-fold. Very few of the corporations which have failed since 1873 have failed through any other cause than the want of ability or of integrity of the officer managing the capital of the concern, and the success of even the most prosperous of those now in existence is well known to be due to their luck in having men of marked administrative capacity and high character at their head. No kind of capacity is, in short, harder to find. Good material for lawyers, doctors, judges, editors, ministers, farmers, mechanics, abounds among us; but men to whom one can commit a large sum of money with perfect confidence in their ability to invest it in some undertaking that is likely to pay, and manage that undertaking with prudence and sagacity and honesty, are extremely scarce, and their scarcity has been made increasingly manifest by the great growth of wealth within the last forty years. Indeed, it is literally true that we have more money than we know what to do with—i. e., than we can find men fit to manage.

The financial history of the last eighteen years illustrates this curiously. When the tide of speculation began to rise after the war, with its swarm of new enterprises, there appeared among us a large body of "financiers" of great repute, who had immense enterprises on foot, and to whom all the simple-minded ran for advice, and whose mere hint was supposed to be sufficient to make a poor man's fortune. The widows and orphans and professional men brought out their savings in every direction and invested on their opinion, with almost childlike confidence, in railroads, mines, factories, steamship companies, real estate, and what not. There probably has not been so much money invested on mere faith in authority, and without any enquiry, from the foundation of the Government down to 1860 as between 1860 and 1873. It is safe to say that fifty per cent. of it has been lost, that of the financiers under whose advice it was invested not five per cent. have preserved their reputations as counsellors, while a large proportion of them are themselves ruined, and that people now look back on their confidence in them as a kind of madness. At this moment among the many hindrances to a revival of business is the difficulty of finding directors of undertakings, or, in other words, the dearth of administrative talent. It is felt seriously in the Government, in education, and in all branches of trade and exchange—in everything, in short, in which numbers of men have to be superintended, and complicated pecuniary transactions safely carried out. The small supply of it we have—small, we mean, compared to the demand created for it by our wealth and energy—comes to us almost wholly by the process of natural selection; that is, the men who fill the places make the places for themselves. They do not appear in answer to advertisements or after a laborious process of search. They are men whose fitness is so notorious that anybody's testimony to it is superfluous, and even ridiculous; nobody is competent to fix the amount of their salary—they fix it themselves.

Nevertheless, with these facts staring them in the face, and matter of everyday experience, there is hardly a plan for reviving business or improving the condition of the workingman through legislation that makes its appearance, whether it comes from the foul-mouthed Communist or the sentimental philanthropist, which does not

involve or call for an enormous corps of administrators of the highest class, who are to superintend vast and complicated enterprises, handle huge sums of money, and make great multitudes happy and contented on salaries of \$2,000 and \$2,500 a year, and these Social Archdeacons are to be got, of course, by caucus nomination. We are to take a great fortune out of the hands of a Stewart, and, because Stewart has his weaknesses, give it to somebody who was never quite able to exchange any species of service for the support of his own family, or take a great railroad out of the hands of "Tom Scott" because Scott is not all we could desire, and give it to somebody whose brain the running of two omnibuses would bemuddle into bankruptcy.

JUSTICE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST.

AT the recent State Convention of the Arkansas Democrats the eleventh resolution of the platform adopted relates to the Southern Pacific Railroad, and pointedly calls on Congress for "money aid" in behalf of that enterprise. The railroad company itself is less presuming. It only asks the endorsement of the Government to a few millions of bonds which it proposes to put on the market, expressly disclaiming all appeal for "money aid." Adjoining Arkansas is Missouri, and the Democrats of that State have likewise been in convention. They, too, have a pet measure for the development of Western interests, which the National Government is called upon to adopt and portion. But as they put their petition, or rather demand, on a higher ground than a charitable contribution, we propose to give them the benefit of their own argument. The eighth resolution of their platform is as follows:

"That, in view of the large appropriations that have been made by the Federal Government for works of public improvement on the seaboard and lakes, justice to the people of the Mississippi Valley demands that appropriations shall be made for the improvement of the Mississippi River and its tributaries commensurate with its commercial wants and the interests of this section of the country. Believing in the constitutional power of the Government to aid in the construction of national enterprises which serve to benefit large sections of the country, and which cannot be accomplished by individual enterprise or State action, we favor such legislation in this behalf as will not increase the national indebtedness or impose any additional burdens upon the people; such a policy, in our opinion, while it would cheapen the cost of transportation and add to our agricultural wealth, would afford remunerative employment to the surplus labor of the country."

It will thus be seen that the Democrats of Missouri are asking simply that "justice" be done between the East and the West in the matter of national money appropriations. So far as their recommendation concerns legislation that "will not increase the national indebtedness or impose any additional burdens upon the people," although looking to one of the most gigantic enterprises ever projected at the national expense, it must be admitted that the views of the resolution-makers seem to be somewhat involved, and the language used is doubtless to be set to the account of political claptrap; but the idea of *justice* in the apportionment of Government aid among the different sections of the country is clear, concise, and emphatic. There is no ambiguity about the word, nor about the sense in which it is employed. We like it exceedingly in the connection in which it is used. It is high time for the element of "justice" to be considered in making Government appropriations, with a view to the rights of those who have to contribute, in a manner and to an extent not heretofore dreamed of. Indeed, in the past the public money has been dealt out according to the caprices or the bargains of Congressmen, with scarcely any reference to the equities of the case. It is time that the figures were being arranged in some sort of order and a balance struck in a way to determine who should pay and who should receive. By all means let some attention hereafter be given to the justice of the matter.

But in deciding what would be a just accounting between the East and the West on the basis of equality in gifts and receipts, the first question is, What items are to come into the calculation? The Missouri Democrats were doubtless thinking merely of Congressional grants. But is that all that should be considered? We think not;

for it so happens that the West has received in aid of its leading enterprises certain large contributions from Eastern pockets that now constitute a binding legal and moral debt with which Congress has had nothing to do. The State of Arkansas, for instance, since the war has expended nearly twelve millions of dollars in the construction of railroads, levees, and other internal improvements, or at least has issued bonds to that amount on their account. These improvements she now has and enjoys, and if they are not as valuable as she expected them to be the miscalculation has been her own. Not having the money for their construction herself, she issued her bonds, which were in good faith and for value purchased, and are now almost exclusively held by Eastern people and institutions. What difference does it make, so far as the obligation of Arkansas to the East is concerned, that Congress had nothing to do with the matter? Again, to assist in building railroads and other public works which they deemed essential to their prosperity, Arkansas counties and cities issued bonds to the amount of nearly \$10,000,000 more, which were sold in the East, where they have remained. These bonds, as well as those of the State, are still outstanding. The principal in no case has been paid, and the interest rarely. On the municipal securities in some instances suits have been brought in the United States courts by non resident creditors, judgments have been obtained, and writs of mandamus have been issued to compel the payment of what is due. So the matter stands; but when we look at the platform of the Arkansas Democrats we find that the tenth resolution—it is the eleventh that asks Congress for "money aid" to the Southern Pacific Railroad—is an appeal to Congress to interpose between the Federal courts and the delinquent communities by taking the writ of mandamus from the former, so that Eastern capitalists whom Arkansas wishes to tax for another railroad for her benefit will not be able to collect the money they have advanced to supply her with the railroads she already has. Is that justice? And looking further, we find that the twelfth and thirteenth resolutions favor the absolute repudiation of the \$12,000,000 of railroad and levee bonds which the State has issued, and urge a constitutional amendment which shall for ever prohibit their payment, so that their holders, who are to be called upon to contribute involuntarily to the State's further development, will never get back a cent of the money they have voluntarily lent her. Is that justice?

Turning to Missouri, we find that the people of that State a few years ago were very anxious for railroads. They had not the means to construct them, and so their cities and counties issued their bonds to an aggregate amount of twenty millions of dollars, and sold them mostly to people in the Eastern States. They have got their railroads, but, as a general thing, they now refuse to pay the bonds. Sixty counties represented in the convention that asked Congress, in the name of justice, to put its hand into the national treasury and take therefrom enough money, belonging to people East as well as West, to improve the navigation of "the Mississippi River and its tributaries," are refusing to pay, according to contract, for the commercial facilities they already possess. And that, too, after Congress has contracted with Mr. Eads to pay some fifteen millions of dollars from the national coffer for opening the mouth of the Mississippi. To say nothing of the modesty of this further demand for jetties the Mississippi and all its tributaries, at an incalculable outlay of Eastern as well as Western treasure, we simply ask whether, under the circumstances, there is "justice" in the proposal?

We do not now oppose Congressional appropriations for so-called public improvements, although ordinarily benefiting but limited areas; but we insist that, when it comes to the question of apportionment between the East and the West, the State and municipal debts of the West to the East, that have been contracted in aid of public improvements, shall be taken into the account. There can be no equalization that leaves them out of view. Another thing to be insisted upon is that, in its appropriation of the money of the public, Congress should make no grants to communities that refuse to pay their bonded debts, which are simply debts owing to the public; in other words, that Congress shall see to it that there i

honesty on one side, as well as liberality on the other. Not only does Congress owe the adoption of such a rule to the cause of public morals, which throughout large portions of the West is rapidly yielding to a spirit of lawless repudiation, but it is a necessary condition of "justice." Why should the holders of dishonored Arkansas and Missouri bonds, that have supplied those States with a large share of the commercial facilities they possess, be called upon to contribute further to their systems of internal improvements, when they cannot get even thanks from their supercilious debtors? It is time these matters were being considered, both in view of the increasing demands upon the nation's bounty, and the growing indifference of large sections of the country to the sacredness of their legal obligations. It is time that Eastern Congressmen were having their attention called to them, and that Eastern constituencies were selecting representatives who will weigh them. The subject has been too long neglected by those who have had charge of the national purse. One illustration on this point is sufficient. At the last session of Congress, in an appropriation bill which was hurried through in the last turbulent hours, there is said to have been a considerable grant for a public building at, and chiefly for the benefit of, Kansas City, in the State of Missouri. Kansas City is in a county and a township that together owe three-quarters of a million of dollars on bonds which were sold by their own agents, of which they have the benefit, and about the equity of which no question can be raised, but on which, although perfectly able, they pay not one cent. Not another dollar of public money should go to that work while that state of things continues. Other similar instances might be given.

THE ALLIANCE OF THE EMPERORS.

PARIS, July 11, 1878.

THE work of the Congress of Berlin is progressing with a stupendous rapidity, and the easy manner in which questions of the greatest magnitude are solved with a *trait de plume* would sufficiently show that preliminary arrangements had taken place between the great Powers, if the whole world had not been made aware of it by the trial of the unfortunate clerk who sold for a few pounds a copy of the famous Memorandum signed by Count Shuvaloff and Lord Salisbury.

It is becoming more and more evident to all who have eyes and are willing to use them that the so-called alliance of the three Emperors has always been a stout and solid reality; that Russia entered into the Eastern war with the permission not only of Germany but of Austria. Count Andrassy had a difficult task, and, on the whole, he may be said to have performed it well, perhaps owing to his defects as much as to his qualities; by his defects I mean a natural indolence, a sort of *laissez-aller*, a great dread of written engagements. He had to take care of the Hungarians, who have all along been in full sympathy with the Turks, and who have a great contempt for all the Christian Slavs; it pleases the Magyars to have one of themselves Chancellor of Austria-Hungary, adorning the court with his fine person and his dazzling uniforms. The Hungarians have been amused all along by a simulacrum of opposition to the plans of Russia, or at least by bold and high-sounding declarations that Austria-Hungary would defend Austro-Hungarian interests as soon as they were endangered. Then came the "accomplished fact"; Turkey was crushed at Plevna, the whole fabric of the Ottoman Empire fell to the ground; it was perceived that after all this dreaded empire was but a shell, and the shell was broken. If the Russian armies had chosen to enter Constantinople they would have met with no serious resistance. The mere fact that they did not crown their victory by the occupation of Stamboul was a new demonstration that the alliance of the three Emperors was not an empty word; it is clear that Constantinople was forbidden ground and a sort of *ne plus ultra*.

So far all went well with Russia; the Hungarian demonstration was not very serious, the German Chancellor paid not the slightest attention to the complaints of those intolerant Germans who were beginning to think that the "Colossus of the North" was becoming too big and endangered German interests. At this moment England entered on the scene. The real difficulties only began then, and the peace of the world seemed already in peril. What would have been the consequences of a war between Russia and England it is difficult to imagine; but everybody felt that Europe, and perhaps extra-European Powers, would be fa-

tally drawn into its vortex. Already dangerous questions of maritime law were discussed; cruisers were bought or were preparing their armaments; the battle of the elephant and the whale, as Prince Bismarck called it, would necessarily have been long and full of unforeseen incidents. The Treaty of San Stefano seemed at one moment to have been completely torn in rags; the sweeping circular of Lord Salisbury left nothing untouched in the work of Prince Ignatieff. England was arming in earnest; she sent her regiments by the Suez Canal to Malta. It had been said all along that she had no army; her little army of England could not be a match for the stupendous Continental armies of the present day. But the statesman who added the title of Empress of India to the title of Queen of Great Britain had not done it for the vain object of adding a few rays to the lustre of the crown; he had intended to make England truly Asiatic, to make her the greatest power on earth, not only by the addition of acres and acres of land, but by the support of thousands and millions of men. The arrival of the gorgeous Indian regiments on the scene of Europe is one of the most extraordinary events of our time, of which all the consequences can hardly be foreseen.

Still, it was a bold, it was even an imprudent course to throw the Treaty of San Stefano away with contempt; to deny to Russia the right to alter the frontiers and the treaties without the consent of Europe; to refuse to her what was contained in her victories. Russia was not so exhausted as her enemies said. She had, owing to the opposition of England, only been allowed to borrow a little money at Berlin, in Holland, and in France; her foreign debt had only been increased by six hundred and fifty millions of francs—all the rest had been borrowed at home, in the shape of paper money. The rouble had lost much of its value, but the Minister of Finance had profited by its depreciation in buying back roubles with treasury bills; the Russian people was thoroughly used to the paper rouble; a little more or less in the circulation could not much affect the welfare of the country. Russia comes out of the war with her foreign debt very little increased, and her credit as a nation will undoubtedly soon be as good as it was before the war. As a nursery of men and of soldiers Russia can well be said to be inexhaustible. It seems, therefore, idle to say that she has been forced to make peace by her internal condition. England knew well what were the resources of Russia, and, though her statesmen assumed a very haughty tone and were willing to risk a war for the defence of English interests, they always preferred in their heart a pacific solution. It was felt by Count Shuvaloff, who is now well acquainted with English society, that England would after all be quite satisfied with a diplomatic victory, and that she was willing to give much of the substance to Russia if she could only keep for herself what could not well be called the shadow, but what is more properly included in the French word *prestige*. To appear before the world as the arbiter of peace and war, as the law-giver of nations, as the indispensable Power without whom nothing can be definitively settled, done, or undone, was enough for the pride of England. As for Russia, her subtle diplomacy has always known how to avoid all extremities; it was clearly her interest to keep as much as possible of the Treaty of San Stefano without going to war with England. She had asked for a maximum in order to be sure of a minimum. The minimum which she keeps can content a patriotic Russian, if it does not content thoroughly the Pan-Slavic party. Russia has a despotic government, which is not placed under the control of the press and of a parliament. The Russian Government is, therefore, better placed for making great diplomatic concessions. Before the public, England maintained the right of Europe to have the whole of the San Stefano Treaty placed on the table of the Congress; but while taking this attitude she conducted negotiations with Russia, and the two Powers came to an agreement. Lord Salisbury's circular was the screen behind which the secret negotiations were conducted. The Crown Prince, who was at the time in England, had probably much influence on the issue of this secret negotiation; Nobiling's attempt on the life of the Emperor William was, indirectly, a powerful instrument of peace. How could the members of the Congress come to Berlin, under the painful circumstances created by this horrible attempt, without being determined to come to an agreement rapidly? Could they intrigue, fight, quarrel before the old, dying sovereign? Could they not all feel that more was in question in Europe than the fate of some half-barbarous countries in the East? This famous alliance of the Emperors, which had been the cornerstone of the policy of Prince Bismarck, was it to come to an end at the very moment when one of the Emperors had been twice in a single month threatened by assassins? What were Rumelia and Bessarabia and the Dobrudja, what was Batum and what was Sophia, compared to the terrible questions which were in the minds of all European statesmen?

Prince Bismarck is not an idler, he is not an *idologue*; when he came back from Varzin and found his old king, now become an Emperor, in the state in which he still lingers, he probably made up his mind to end this miserable Eastern Question as well and as soon as he could. Something is rotten now in the state, not of Denmark, but of Germany; something is going wrong in Russia: Sara Vassulitch has become in Geneva the guest of the French Communists. Bismarck may have himself reflected bitterly on the *Kulturkampf* and the May laws, and asked himself if it was safe to introduce in the common school theories on which the highest thinkers cannot pronounce. The immense development of wealth created by the railways and by industry, the corresponding misery, the revolutionary agitations of the last thirty years, the wars, the uprooting, if I may say so, of all human existences, have all contributed to shake European society to its very foundations. The governments, if they understand their mission, had better keep the keys of their own houses and act at home with prudence, firmness, and sagacity, rather than fight among themselves.

The Congress began with the alliance of the three Emperors, and how does it end? It ends by an alliance of the four Emperors (is not Queen Victoria Empress of India?). What happened in the East has been compared to the first partition of Poland, which was soon afterwards followed by a second partition. So it may be; but surely the new Principality of Bulgaria, under a Russian gendarmerie, with a Christian prince, will be happier than it was under the pashas; Austria will take better care of Bosnia and Herzegovina than Turkey had done before her. The new settlement, though it may be only a step towards a final settlement, marks a real progress for civilization. Even the Dobrudja, when it shall be crossed by dikes and cease to be a swamp, will be one of the most fertile countries in Europe. Turkey proper, crossed by roads and railways, will be a new country in a few years. As for the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, it remains to be seen how they will be transformed under the joint and, let us hope, harmonious influence of Russia and England.

SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.*

I.

HAMBURG, July, 1878.

THE social and communistic movement in Germany is older than is commonly known. It has passed through two stages of development. The first was theoretical, harmless, and sentimental; the second, however, is practical, materialistic, and highly dangerous.

The first period of German socialism began a few years prior to the Revolution of 1848, and was subdued a little later. It originated in 1844, when the linen-weavers in the mountainous districts of Silesia could no longer live on their scanty wages, so that a famine desolated several villages. In the summer of that year they rose in desperation, destroyed some factories, and attacked some of their employers, but a military force quickly quelled the riot, and the courts sentenced the ringleaders to severe punishment.

Insignificant as the whole affair appears in comparison with later events, the impression it made on the public mind was deep. It was as if society had suddenly discovered the fathomless chasm which separated two classes of the same people. It became alarmed, and by partly well conceived, partly foolish measures tried to atone for the shortcomings which announced their existence with bloodshed and fire. The well-to-do classes formed associations for the amelioration of the condition of the poor working-classes; philanthropists, high officials, and professors of universities organized societies for the moral advancement of mechanics and laborers; students and young people in general called for radical remedies, and even the Government directed its attention to the cure of the evil. While those who advocated reform and the peaceful social development called themselves, or were called, Socialists, the more radical, who pleaded for a social revolution as the only means of salvation, or who proposed to abolish private property, were designated as Communists.

At that time Germany had hardly begun to throw off the last remnants of feudalism and to develop her rich material resources. With the exception of some parts of Silesia, Westphalia, and Rhenish Prussia, agriculture and husbandry prevailed all over the country; 75 per cent. of its population were rural; there were no great industrial establishments, but few manufacturing interests, and no masses of working-people concentrated in great cities or in large industrial centres. Ger-

man manufactories were in a transition from handiwork to machine-work. This process had just been initiated in the line of weaving and spinning; hence the poor weavers could not compete with the machines which were imported from England and Ireland. Shortsighted as they were, they considered as avarice on the part of their employers what was only the unavoidable consequences of modern industrial improvements. Comparatively, however, so small was at that time the number of those suffering that the Government was enabled in a great measure to alleviate their wants by teaching them another trade. The Minister of Commerce, under the superintendency of expert agents, sent dozens of skilled weavers to England, Belgium, and Turkey, where they learnt the weaving of Brussels, Smyrna, and other carpets. Thus a new industry was introduced into Germany, and enterprising manufacturers soon founded large factories. The town of Schmiedeberg, in the Giant Mountains, has since become one of the centres of elegant and fine carpet-weaving establishments. Several houses there work exclusively for the American market. A great many Smyrna carpets which you buy at present at Stewart's or Sloane's in New York have never seen the East, but are directly imported from Schmiedeberg.

Together with these benevolent and beneficial steps went a new social literature, the character of which was in general sentimental. Novels, poems, essays, and tragedies painted the misery of the working-classes in glowing colors and admired the generosity of their character, while they attacked the heartlessness of the better-situated minority and denounced the cruelty of the existing laws. Social periodicals were as numerous as short-lived; but they seldom dared to enter into disquisitions on leading social questions or politico-economic arguments. At that period even German public men and writers had but a faint idea of political economy, and only exceptionally made it a subject of their studies. Instead of expounding the fundamental laws of an exact science, they addressed their readers with glittering generalities and entertained them with harmless Utopias. Soon, however, a host of young and able men devoted their skill and energy to the propagation of Socialism. On this field, as on so many others, the first impetus was given by France; for at that time the social problem was almost the sole absorbing theme of her public life, and her authors—for instance, George Sand, Louis Blanc, Considérant, and Proudhon—tried to solve it. No less a man than Heinrich Heine, then living at Paris, who had already in earlier days been the interpreter of the creeds of St. Simon, Enfantin, and Fourier to the German mind, in 1844 published a wild revolutionary song on the sufferings and famine, the woe and the martyrdom, of the Silesian weavers. Almost all his poetical productions of that period bear the communistic and revolutionary red-hot stamp. Other poets like Georg Herwegh, Alfred Meissner, Moritz Hartmann, Ferdinand Freiligrath, and Carl Beck followed in his steps. Professor Lorenz Stein wrote the first systematic treatise on French Socialism and Communism, and thus made scholars and students acquainted with them. Newspaper correspondents like Moses Hess and Carl Grün studied the new doctrine at its sources in Paris and daily sent letters on the subject to their papers. German "ouvriers" returned year by year from Paris fresh with the new gospel they had imbibed in the workshops of that city, and which they were eager to reveal to their friends at home. The police arrested these apostles wherever it could, but was unable to prevent the spread of the new ideas among the working and even the so-called higher classes. One of the most fanatical of these prophets was a tailor by the name of Wilhelm Weitling, of Magdeburg, who in 1843 published his 'Guaranties and Harmonies of Freedom,' and for a time was a great authority among the Socialists. The critical part of his pamphlet is brilliant, while its constructive part is quite dull and in some of its deductions rather stupid. Weitling afterwards went to New York, and, having flattered himself in vain for years that he had invented a buttonhole sewing-machine, died some time ago while in the employ of the Commissioners of Emigration in Castle Garden.

These men, however, were only the forerunners of Karl Marx, who first based the social movement on scientific principles, and for more than thirty years has been, and still is, the spiritual leader not only of German but also of European Socialists and Communists. Remarkable by his indefatigable industry and the thoroughness of his studies as well as by the wide range of his researches and the philosophical and critical turn of his mind, he ranks among the first scholars of the time. His chief collaborator was and is Friedrich Engels, the son of a rich merchant at Barmen, who had spent several years at Manchester and studied there the condition of the English working-classes. Engel's book on that subject, published in 1845 in Leipzig, proved the author to be an able ob-

* This article is the first of three which we shall publish from the pen of a German writer of very high authority. — ED. NATION.

server and a sound political economist. His work distinguished itself as well by the fulness of its details and the boldness of its reasoning as by its bitter attacks on the manufacturing classes, and made a deep impression in Germany. The brilliant qualities of this man, however, are overshadowed by a reckless, domineering spirit, an insatiable ambition, and an intolerant character which blackens, vilifies, and, if possible, destroys everything and everybody in its way. He who does not believe implicitly in Marx, or who dares to have an opinion of his own, is doomed, driven out of the church, and denounced to the Philistine as a "bourgeois," as a spy, as an "agent provocateur," and in the eyes of the right-minded (as the slang of the church, the so-called Schwefelbande, goes) ruined and annihilated for ever. Like all founders of new creeds, Marx knows only obedient tools and blind admirers, and has but few friends.

Having studied philosophy in Bonn and Berlin, he adhered in his youth to the radical wing of Hegel's school, and associated with the most advanced German thinkers, whose respect he won by the keenness of his intellect and the acuteness of his reasoning. In 1842 he was appointed editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (Rhenish Gazette), an opposition journal established at Cologne by prominent merchants and bankers, such as Haasemann, Camphausen, and Mevissen, who in 1848 became reconciled to the Prussian rule, and, leaving behind their old liberal aspirations, cheerfully accepted seats in the Cabinet. Marx made his *Gazette* the leading one of all the opposition papers, and by its merciless criticism of Government measures, its bold and menacing tone, its sarcastic sneers at Prussian red-tapeism, raised such a storm that, although being daily submitted to the censorship, in the spring of 1843 it was, nevertheless, wholly suppressed by the Prussian authority. Marx himself, in the preface to the first number of his 'Political Economy,' says that when assuming his editorial duties he understood nothing of political economy, and that his attention had at first been called to it by being compelled to plead for the alleviation of the misery of the poor wine-growers on the Moselle. He soon after went to Brussels and Paris, and in the latter city published, in company with Arnold Ruge, the *Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher* (German-French Annals), a radical philosophical and political monthly, which, however, did not survive two numbers. After this he gave up all direct political agitation and devoted himself exclusively to the study of political economy. Driven out of Brussels, he again went to Paris, and, expelled thence by order of Guizot, he went back to Brussels, where in 1847 he wrote his pamphlet, 'Misère de la Philosophie,' against the "bourgeois" Proudhon's just-published 'Philosophie de la Misère.' In the spring of 1848 Marx returned to Cologne and started the first red republican and communistic German daily, the *New Rhenish Gazette*. A few days before the outbreak of the Revolution of February he had published his communistic manifesto, with the motto: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" Here, as well as afterwards in his paper, Marx unfolded the banner of Communism, laughed at the idea of a mere political revolution, and boldly proclaimed for the war of classes (*Klassenkampf*), i.e., the war of the fourth class (proletarians) against the third class (bourgeois).

Germany, however, was not yet ripe for this doctrine, originally of French growth. Her manufactures being still in their infancy, and her middle classes having scarcely been emancipated from the supremacy of feudal noblemen, her citizens were not independent enough, and politically not far enough advanced, to be able to rule the country. The respect for the higher classes was too implicit to allow them to claim more than a moderate share in the government. The workingmen in general had no professional pride, and, having for centuries suffered under all kinds of official and private oppressions, were happy to make a modest living. Marx, therefore, with very few exceptions, did not win over to his side the rank and file which he wanted for the carrying out of his plans, and, frightening the well-to-do Liberals, drove them into the arms of the Conservatives. Much as he glorified the Paris barricade battles of June, 1848, audaciously as he attacked the reactionary system at home, eloquently as he appealed to passion and prejudice, he did and could not create the social revolution, but only paved the way for the counter-revolution. When in the spring of 1849 the revolutionary movements in all parts of Germany were subdued, and when the state of siege was declared in Cologne, the Prussian Government, of course, eagerly suppressed the *New Rhenish Gazette*. The last number was printed in red ink, and the poet Freiligrath, one of its editors, headed it with a wild revolutionary chant, in which he compared the Prussian officials with the Kalmucks, a savage tribe of Eastern Russia.

Marx went to London, while his friends dispersed to other parts of Europe or to the United States, and organized a staff of a handful of

followers who formed the nucleus of the new communistic international party. Slowly but surely secret associations sprang up in all parts of the world and communicated with each other by way of London. Marx now became the chief saint of the communistic church, the expounder of its orthodox creed, and was worshipped by the pious like a second pope. Leaving the intriguing among the refugees, the agitation among the workingmen, to the saints of the lower order, to ex-lieutenants, apothecaries, merchant-clerks, ex-foresters, penny-a-liners, or music-teachers, the prophet himself meanwhile corresponded for years with the *New York Tribune*, which owes him a series of excellent articles on European politics, occasionally wrote political pamphlets, such as 'The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' (published 1852 in New York), a masterly exposition of the character, aims, and probable (afterwards real) end of that adventurer, and laid down the principles of his system in his great work on 'Capital,' which has been and still is the arsenal of all communistic doctrines, from Lassalle down to the smaller fry, the Liebknechts, Bebels, and Mosts.

The gist of the first volume of Marx's work, two-thirds of which consists of extracts from English parliamentary enquiries and official records on the condition of the English working-classes, may be given in a few sentences. As all goods have a twofold value, we distinguish between the profit which they have for society by being used (the value in use) and the importance they acquire by their exchange for other goods (the value in exchange); but all goods, however they may differ from each other, have one common quality, the amount of which forms the standard of their value of exchange. This common quality is the human labor necessary for the production of goods. Thus the value of goods is determined solely by the amount of labor necessary for this production. Consequently, it belongs exclusively to the workingman, and the capitalist has no right to pocket that value. Capital has thus far been created by either robbing and cheating the laborer or by other mean practices, such as speculations and confiscations. Accumulated capital, which pays only scanty wages covering the mere necessities of life to the hired producer, is the thief that steals other men's labor. Capital has expropriated labor, but it is time that the expropriators should be expropriated for the benefit of the working masses. The system of division of labor has even more enriched the capitalist, has made the producer more dependent on him, and has effected higher values. Each new machine compels the workingman to give up more and more of his individual ability to the capitalist. The high development of the present manufacturing and producing process, based on the ruin of handiwork and of the small producer, transforms the latter more and more into a tool with no will of his own. The enormous power of accumulated capital cannot be done away with, the world cannot return to a patriarchal state of things; but, nevertheless, the misery of the working-classes can no longer continue. Marx proposes as a remedy that all means and tools of production, ground and soil as well as raw materials, should be handed over to society at large, that all trades and professions should be carried on by it for the benefit of all—or, in other words, that private property be abolished.

The platform of the German democrats, which I will give in full hereafter, draws the consequences of Marx's system. Here I will only say that, in my opinion, he is wrong in calling all labor the sole source of the value of a thing, while in fact it is only that labor which satisfies the human wants, and I will add that in order to perform such useful labor capital in some shape or other is required.

To return, however, to the events in Germany. The victory of the armed reaction had crushed Socialism in its germ, or at least made it disappear from the public view. In consequence of the Crimean War a new era of industrial and commercial prosperity began. It developed the rich resources of Germany, as it did those of other countries, and enabled enterprising individuals or stock companies to complete the German railroad system, to establish new steamship lines or other means of communication, to erect new manufactories, and to invest money profitably—in short, to give a sudden impetus to all kinds of commercial and industrial enterprises. From this new movement a larger working-class originated, yearly growing in numbers and importance, and manufacturing centres sprang up which controlled the social and communistic elements of the country. Thus the plant, which until now had been foreign to the German soil, about the year 1860 became of domestic growth.

The panic of 1857 was not strong enough to stop entirely the commercial prosperity. The fall of the reactionary cabinet of Manièufel and his ilk, the accession of the Prince Regent in Prussia, and the political resurrection in Germany united the middle classes against the oppressive schemes of the new Prussian ministers. Then, in consequence

of the increase of the royal army without previously asking the consent of the Chambers, the years of conflict between people and government broke out and lasted till 1866. Bismarck, the principal Secretary of State since 1862, tried to set aside the constitutional safeguards and to impose taxes without the sanction of the House of Representatives, who thereupon amalgamated into one compact majority the party of progress. After the battle of Königgrätz Bismarck asked and obtained indemnity for his illegal proceedings; but prior to that event he did his utmost to defeat his political adversaries, and even availed himself of the assistance of the social and communistic elements of the country, just organized under the leadership of Ferdinand Lassalle, and at present called the Social Democrats.

Correspondence.

THE MORALITY OF THE BEACONSFIELD MINISTRY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, according to the telegram, has denied the existence of any secret engagement besides the Salisbury-Shuvaloff memorandum and the secret convention with Turkey, though he admits that there have been "confidential communications." We shall see hereafter what and with whom the confidential communications were; whether they amount in effect to a "confidential" agreement; and if they do, whether the agreement is with France, and has reference to a future division of spoil in the direction of Egypt and Syria. The Suez-Canal shares were not purchased merely for the purpose of holding stock in a French company.

Sir Stafford Northcote was the minister who induced the House of Commons quietly to disperse for the Easter vacation by assuring them that nothing had occurred to enhance the gravity of the situation, he knowing when he spoke that orders had been sent to India to despatch troops to the Mediterranean. At the opening of Parliament the Prime Minister declared that there was no dissension in the Cabinet, though two of his colleagues were then at the brink of resignation. The ground assigned to England and Europe for ordering up the fleet to Constantinople was the protection of British life and property; but now, in attacking Lord Carnarvon, Lord Beaconsfield drops the mask and avows that the fleet was ordered up to check the advance of Russia.

Lord Derby states positively that in March last the Cabinet resolved, in defiance of public law, treaties, its own declaration of neutrality, and its professions to Turkey, to seize, by a secret expedition, Cyprus and a point on the Turkish mainland. Lord Salisbury, on behalf of the Cabinet, passionately denies the statement. On one side or the other there must be downright falsehood, and I venture to say there are not ten men in England who do not in their hearts believe that Lord Derby speaks the truth.

England has gained Cyprus, not a very valuable booty if it has no harbor, but her statesmen have lost, by intrigue, deception, and violence, the reputation for open dealing, truthfulness, and probity which the meanest of them once enjoyed.

Yours, faithfully,

GOLDWIN SMITH.

Toronto, August 4, 1878.

[Our correspondent has overlooked Lord Salisbury's statement, in reply to Earl Grey's question "whether there was *any* truth" in the version of the secret memorandum first published in the *Globe*, "that it was *wholly* unauthenticated and not deserving the confidence of their Lordships' House"—the fact being that it was substantially correct; also the official instructions to Lord Odo Russell to oppose the cession of Batum to Russia, after Lord Salisbury had secretly agreed with Count Shuvaloff not to resist it.—ED. NATION.]

SCHOOL TEACHER AND SCHOOL-HUNTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A letter from "School-Hunter" in your issue of July 25 inclines me to look at the matter he speaks of from a teacher's point of view. I know some girls who "hate sewing," and to whom "nothing is so unpleasant as the inside of a house"; but it is not a corollary that they "love books"; on the contrary, they are the least cultivated, least feminine, and

worst-mannered girls of the set to which they belong. However, this does not prove anything; it is only an aside. What I wish to suggest is, that if the Hunter wants a school so different from the one which ninety-nine in a hundred of his countrymen prefer, he must find half a dozen parents who have his own ideas, and let them club together and support a school of the kind he describes. As you can hardly expect any one teacher, with the information and good sense necessary to his position, to be also a scientific professor, drawing-master, gymnastic performer, and singing-teacher, he must have not less than two assistants, besides masters in French and German, if any of the parents should be so foolish as to require modern languages. Each of these persons must be supported; the principal may have a family dependent upon him; the laboratory and gymnasium are both expensive additions to a school, no matter how simple their arrangements may be; so that, on the whole, it is not too much to expect that each pupil shall contribute four or five hundred dollars a year towards the support of a day-school alone. I speak only of city schools. In a country boarding-school the price would be somewhat less in proportion, but probably at least double what it is now at the very best, because there would be so few among whom to divide expenses. Now, what I want to call attention to is this, that if the model teacher "School-Hunter" is looking for should open a school and promise exactly what your correspondent demands (and fulfill it, too), he would simply starve. Having been for many years engaged in teaching, I know from experience that any effort to do things out of the regular course means commercial failure. A teacher must do what the ninety-nine hundredths demand, leaving the odd one per cent. to make special arrangements for themselves. In most cases the pressure is not for simplicity of instruction, but for increased study. Parents whose children are learning six lessons daily, and reciting them well, come to me and complain that the pupils are too idle at home and need more study to keep them out of mischief; then one or two lessons are added to the list. What I would suggest is that "School-Hunter" should have a private teacher who can work under his direction; in that way he will get just what he wants. Or let him take the risk himself. Let him hire a room, if he has not one in his own house that will answer the purpose, provide gymnastic apparatus and laboratory, engage the necessary teachers at fixed salaries, and then get as many parents as he can to divide the expense with him. Who knows how much good he might do by thus laying the foundation of a more rational system of education?

Yours,

SCHOOL TEACHER.

AUGUST 2, 1878.

WHY JEFFERSON DAVIS WAS LIBERATED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I would beg to refer to your decision a point in dispute between some of the American residents in this place, and of interest as an historical fact.

Will you kindly state the *reason* that induced the United States Government to liberate Jefferson Davis instead of hanging him, as seemed to be his just due?

A. T. MARVIN.

MANILA, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, May 28, 1878.

[We believe the reasons were (1) the dislike of the people of the North to the idea of putting a man to death for a political offence; (2) the perception that Davis was not a solitary criminal, but a representative man, to whom punishment would have given the honors of martyrdom; (3) a recognition of the impossibility of finding an unpacked jury of the State and district in which his offence was committed, as required by the Constitution, to convict him. Our correspondent can arrange these in any order he pleases. Davis's case was finally dropped through a division of opinion between the judges of the United States Circuit Court on a motion to quash the indictment, on the ground that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, in prescribing the disfranchisement of all persons who having held office under the United States had committed treason against it, did away with all other punishment or pursuit. Chief-Justice Chase sustained this objection, but the district judge, Underwood, who got his office for his loyalty and knew no law whatever, dissented. The case ought then to have gone up to the Supreme Court, but it never did. Everybody was tired of it. Mr. Davis was liberated on bail, and now perorates at agricultural fairs like other broken-down politicians.—ED. NATION.]

L'ART AND LA GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS.

M. LE RÉDACTEUR DE "THE NATION":

MONSIEUR ET ÉMINENT CONFRÈRE : NOUS vous sommes très-reconnaissants de la bienveillance que vous témoignez à notre publication, et nous vous prions d'en agréer nos vifs remerciements.

Permettez-nous de faire appel à votre extrême courtoisie pour en solliciter une rectification. Dans votre numéro du 27 juin, page 419, 2^{me} colonne, nous sommes accusés d'avoir fait un emprunt à la *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, et d'avoir commis "a plagiarism." Il n'en est rien, ainsi que vous allez en juger : la planche de Monsieur Jules Jacquemart d'après le portrait de l'Infante Isabelle par Simon de Vos n'a jamais appartenu à la *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. Le propriétaire de cette planche, qui est le principal fondateur de l'Art, a simplement permis d'en faire un tirage pour la *Gazette* lorsque la planche de M. Jacquemart a été terminée. Jamais on n'a pu se procurer d'épreuves de cette planche dans les bureaux de la *Gazette*; c'est la *Librairie de l'Art* qui seule a le droit de vendre ces épreuves.

Recevez d'avance tous nos remerciements, Monsieur, et agréez, je vous prie, l'expression de tous mes sentiments de confraternité.

Le Secrétaire de la Rédaction,

PAUL LEROI.

PARIS, 3 Chaussée d'Antin, 23 juillet, 1878.

Notes.

HENRY HOLT & CO. will shortly issue 'Plays for Private Acting,' translated from the French and Italian by members of the Bellevue Dramatic Club of Newport.—Part 3 of Grove's 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians' (New York: Macmillan & Co.) concludes the article on Boieldieu, and includes, among other celebrated composers and performers, Balow, Cherubini, and Chopin. To Chopin only one and a half pages are assigned, but the article cannot be said to be lacking in appreciation. There is an article on the Chickering piano, and on the music-publishing firm of Breitkopf & Härtel, now in its 160th year; and the *Brabançonne* of the Belgian and the *Ça ira* and *Carmagnole* of the French Revolution have here their words and music given.—The Commissioner of Education's report for 1876, which has lately appeared, is mostly taken up with current statistics of the school system in each State, preceded by an historical sketch of the foundation. The Commissioner's report proper is as usual a curious jumble, but repays glancing at. In it will be found a table of the sums expended at the South by the trustees of the Peabody Fund during the nine years 1868-76, in all \$895,050; nearly one-fifth of this has gone to Virginia; and to Virginia, West Virginia, and Tennessee more than a half. Texas has received, and we suppose merited, the least (\$7,800). The educational benefactions of the year amounted to \$4,691,845, including \$700,000 of the Lick bequest and \$400,000 bestowed on the Vanderbilt University.—The Journeymen Plumbers' Benevolent Society of New York, which, notwithstanding popular prejudice against the craft, does really contain many exceptionally intelligent mechanics, invites contributions of books and periodicals as the nucleus of a library and workmen's reading-room. They may be addressed to Mr. Charles F. Wingate, editor, P. O. box 2037, New York City.—The general association of German publishers has invited Dr. Friedrich Kapp to write a history of the German book-trade, from the invention of the art of printing to the present day. It will be a labor of many years, but he has accepted the task and begun the collection of his material. From such a work it is natural to expect a great deal of new light on the political, social, and intellectual development of Germany.—We learn from the *Athenæum* that the Folk-Lore Society has decided to print a *Lansdowne MS.* in the British Museum by Aubrey the antiquary, to be edited by Mr. Thielton Dyer. The first issue of the *Folk-Lore Record* will contain a paper by Mr. Ralston on Folk Tales, a collection of West Sussex Folk Lore by Mrs. Latham, and a selection of notes from the collection of Mr. Thoms and other sources.—Dr. H. Von Holst is on his way to this country, contrary to his expectation when penning the preface to his last volume on the 'Constitutional History of the United States.' We hope his stay here may prove of advantage to the great work which he has partly consummated.

—We have received a pamphlet copy of a lecture on the "Mexican Calendar-Stone," delivered in this city last April by Prof. Ph. Valentini ('Vortrag über den Mexicanischen Kalenderstein,' etc.), to which is prefixed a heliotype of the stone itself. The German professor is apparently mistaken in his assumption that he is the first after Gama in his inter-

pretation of the calendar-stone and in determining it to be a mere "stone of sacrifice" or "stone of the sun." As early as November, 1875, Señor Don Alfredo Chavero (of the Liceo Hidalgo of Mexico) published a paper on the subject, entitled 'Calendario Azteca,' in which he established the same identical points. It is even singular and striking to what an extent the *cuaderno* of the learned Mexican scholar agrees, if not verbatim, at least substantially with Mr. Valentini's essay. The facts in regard to the history of the stone up to date, gathered in part from Durán's very rare 'Historia de las Yndias de Nueva-España é Islas de Tierra-Firme' and Tezozomoc's 'Crónica Mexicana' (which latter Prof. Valentini quotes in a very faulty manner), are exactly the same in both essays, with the exception that Señor Chavero is more explicit in every respect. Their interpretations of the ornaments on the stone differ, but Mr. Valentini's investigation of the concentric rings, or rather the mode of that very investigation, is again the same as that of Chavero. Besides, the interpretations are the most immaterial parts of both papers. The fact, however, that the so-called "Montezuma's watch" is no gnomon, and therefore no evidence of high development of astronomical science among the ancient Mexicans, but simply a slaughter-block of huge dimensions, is of sufficient importance to warrant an effort to establish the authorship of the discovery. The credit of it certainly belongs to Señor Chavero, not only in point of time but also of fulness of details.

—In the last three numbers of the London *Academy* Mr. Moy Thomas has commented with great fulness on the Copyright Report, and with as much sense as fulness. His third article is devoted to showing why international copyright would not, as is so often asserted by our publishers, compel the American public to put up with costly English editions or none at all—the three-volume novel at a guinea and a half, instead of the present cheap reprint in one volume, for example. His explanation is that the prices of popular books in England are determined, at least for the first edition, by the circulating libraries, which are counted upon to absorb a certain number of copies, say two thousand. If the work thus introduced and passed from hand to hand meets with favor, a library or popular edition is sure to follow, bearing a price exactly calculated for the purchaser. If it falls flat, the publishers have covered themselves against loss by the high price of their trial-balloon:

"The circulating-library period of a book's existence in England is, in brief, a period of probation. The libraries are practically a perpetual Great Exhibition of literary wares, wherein while many productions fail to excite admiration, and many are quit with the cold comfort of 'honorable mention,' some few issue forth with the stamp of a well-won reputation."

But Mr. Thomas points out that the classes of books not adapted to circulation and probation in this manner are issued in a style and at a price which have the purchaser directly in view, and he argues that an English publisher manufacturing for the American market would adapt himself to the habit of the people just as he does at home. This seems to us perfectly sound, nor is it an error of any very great consequence that he declares the circulating-library system unknown among us. On the scale of Mudie's this is true enough; but we venture to say that every considerable town and every quarter of a great city has its circulating library which does serve the purpose of making an inexpensive acquaintance with current literature before purchasing, or when purchasing is out of the question. Moreover, public libraries abound with us as they do not in England, and of the new books in most request they regularly supply themselves with sufficient duplicates, while our New York Mercantile Library is, in transmitting and collecting, a real Mudie's to the population living within a radius of twenty miles of the city. Add to these the book-clubs which flourish alongside of the middle and lower-class circulating libraries and of the amplest public libraries, and it will be seen that Americans both know how to economize and to test new books before deciding to buy them.

—The quarrelsome nature of the European house sparrow seems to have had a contagious effect upon his human neighbors in this country, for the controversy over the noisy and gregarious little bird has long since passed from conversation into the public prints. Among its most determined opponents is Dr. Elliott Coues, who, if he had the gift of a Leech, would doubtless be plying the comic papers with caricatures of an imported nuisance beside which the hand-organ appears a benefaction. Dr. Coues returns to the subject in the August number of the *American Naturalist*. Not being able to ignore the fact that the combatants are not strictly divided by the line which separates laymen and scientists, he begins by showing that appearances are deceitful, and divides the friends of the sparrow into five classes, to wit (1): "children, old women, and

fogies"; (2) those who were instrumental in bringing him over; (3) "quasi-ornithologists who have been misled into hasty expressions of opinion to which they feel bound to stick"; (4) the claqueurs of No. 3; (5) "a very few intelligent and scientific persons, but not practical nor professional ornithologists," who see that the bird does some good, and think he will be as useful here as in Europe. This is a very mistaken inference, says Dr. Coues, since in Europe the sparrows are part and parcel of the natural fauna, and, not being petted or specially protected, have adjusted their increase in accordance with the checks which there abound. Here, on the other hand, they have no special work to perform, and if that work were the destruction of insects it would be against the gregarious propensities of their tribe. In fact, he alleges, they have not kept the worms from our trees; they harass and drive off more insectivorous native birds; they plunder the kitchen-garden, the orchard, and the grain-field; they make life wretched for invalids, and homes filthy for servants; and, being enormously prolific and practically without natural enemies or checks of any kind, they threaten to repeat for us the history of the white-weed and the Norway rat. Dr. Coues suggests a scientific examination of the crops of the sparrow at the height of the insect season, to decide what they feed on; and recommends letting them shift for themselves hereafter, without being fed or sheltered, and abolishing the legal penalties for killing them.

—It seems a pity that the sparrows cannot be usefully employed in overcoming a domestic pest described in the same number of the *Naturalist*, and which is now spreading consternation among the housekeepers of New England as it has already done in New Jersey and New York. We refer to the carpet-beetle, *Anthrenus scrophulariæ*, also known, from the hairy exterior of its larva, as the "buffalo moth." This disagreeable insect has an insatiable fondness for wool, and its destructiveness is far in excess of that of the ordinary moth which we suppress with camphor, while its indifference to most insect powders is disheartening to behold. Mr. J. A. Lintner, of the New York State Museum of Natural History, gives a full account of the genesis of the anthrenus, with figures, that will be helpful to those afflicted with it. He errs in supposing that it was not identified before October, 1876; Dr. Hagen had recognized it four years previous to that date. Mr. Lintner concludes his article by quoting part of a long list of injurious insects introduced here from Europe, as given in one of Professor Riley's reports; even the house-fly is among them. "Should our late exportation of the Colorado beetle prove as injurious in Europe as in this country, which there is much reason to doubt, we shall still be very far from having made a commensurate return." Abroad, the carpet-beetle is said to infest dried meats and similar substances.

—M. Gustave Fagniez, one of the editors of the *Revue Historique*, has collected some articles originally printed in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, and published them in a volume, with some alterations and additions, under the title, 'Études sur l'Industrie et la Classe industrielle à Paris au xiii. et au xiv. siècles'; it forms the thirty-third fascicule of a valuable series of essays published under the authority of the Minister of Public Instruction, and containing such important original works as Longnon's 'Étude sur les Pagi de la Gaul' and Bréal's translation of the Eugubine Tables, as well as translations of works of Mommsen, Sohm, and Max Müller. The volume before us contains four hundred and twenty-six pages, and consists of two books—the first upon the organization of industry in general, the second (in seven chapters) upon certain special industries, as butchery, building, textile industries, etc. This is a welcome addition to the German works of Brentano, Wilda, Stieda, Schanz, etc., upon this subject; and, like these, it contains abundant illustrative documents in an appendix. The *corps de métier*, as the industrial corporations were called—corresponding to the German *Zünfte* and the English craft-guilds—were, like the German and English associations, composed of all members of the industry, journeymen and apprentices, as well as masters; there was no conflict of interests recognized between laborer and employer. They appear, however, to have differed essentially from the *Zünfte* and craft-guilds in two points. First, they were never (at least in Paris) invested with any extensive political power, as was the case in Germany, and to some extent in England. Secondly, the social and religious character, which was so prominent in the guild, was quite subordinate, or rather was assumed by a secondary association, the *confrérie* or brotherhood, corresponding in the main with the corporation, but under a separate organization, like the *Bruderschaft* by the side of the *Gesellenverband* in the German trades. The obscure question as to the precise relation of the journeymen to the corporation does not, so far as we can see, receive much light from this

essay. In general the impression made by the facts here presented is that the French corporation was more strictly industrial than either that of Germany or of England. It should be added that they confirm the conclusion now generally accepted as to the prosperous condition of the mediæval artisans.

—Special points in German mediæval history have been well discussed in the following monographs: Dr. Friedrich Ehard's *Festschrift* upon the four-hundredth anniversary of the University of Tübingen treats of an interesting point in the history of Southern Germany five hundred years ago—'Der erste Annäherungsversuch König Wenzels an dem Schwäbisch-rheinischen Städtebund, 1384-1385.' Wenceslaus began his reign (1378) with his father's (Charles IV.) policy of hostility to the cities, but within a very few years was brought into alliance with the confederacies of cities. The present paper finds proof in new documents for a theory of Weizsäcker (controverted by Lindner), that the cause of this change of policy was the scheme of deposing the emperor, which was already talked of early in 1384, although it was not carried out until 1400. Belonging to the same period is 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der hussitischen Bewegung,' by J. Loserth; the first instalment is the 'Codex Epistolaris' of John of Jenzenstein, Archbishop of Prague during the early part of the reign of Wenceslaus. This was a prelate of the genuine ecclesiastical type, an ascetic in his person, an uncompromising champion of the powers and rights of the church, but arrogant and quarrelsome; it was with his sympathy and encouragement that John of Nepomuk was drawn into the quarrel with the emperor which led to his well-known martyrdom in 1393. The letters of this archbishop are therefore, in truth, a contribution to the history of the Hussite movement; so far as those here given, however, extend (1374-88), they do not show any rupture with the emperor. Dr. Gottlieb Krause's inaugural dissertation at Göttingen, 'Beziehungen zwischen Habsburg und Burgund bis zum Ausgang der Trierer Zusammenkunft im Jahre 1473,' describes very clearly and in an interesting manner the series of negotiations which led to the famous conference, when the perplexed emperor "folded his tents like the Arabs and silently stole away," as described so graphically by Mr. Kirk. In the main Dr. Krause's account agrees with that of the American historian, although the events are narrated in more detail, and rather more emphasis is placed upon Charles's plan not merely to be elected king of the Romans but to supersede Frederic himself as emperor.

—Belonging to the same series of events is a monograph of 309 pages, by Dr. Adolph Bachmann, 'Böhmen und seine Nachbarländer unter Georg von Podiebrad, 1458-61.' This is the continuation of a previous essay by the same writer (see *Nation*, No. 606), and narrates the events of the first three years of George's reign, which were occupied with efforts—quite similar to those of Charles the Bold—to make himself king of the Romans, at first with the consent of the Emperor, then without his consent, by the aid of the princes, and, lastly, even through the Pope himself (Pius II.) This last was a fatal step for him, and revealed distinctly the vulnerable point in his position, for he had begun life as a Hussite, and was the king of a Hussite nation, and there was certainly some insincerity either in his submission to the papacy now or in his later controversies with it. His present scheme was frustrated by the determined opposition of his nation, and from this time he appears as the consistent and heroic champion of his nation and its religion, and—as is shown by Dr. Krause—a supporter of Charles the Bold in the project which he had now given up for himself.

RECENT POETRY.

THOSE who have been sighing for science to manifest itself in poetry will find some indications of its idealizing influence in 'Studies in Verse' (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.), whose author, Mr. Charles Quiet, indulges a fellow-feeling for fish, flesh, and fowl possible only to an enlightened materialist. Naturally he hates church-bells, by which he has frequently been changed into "a creature vile and low," and prefers not to listen to their call, but rather to linger with fond and original fancies about the green graves to whose grasses and strawberries he looks for his immortality. In this mood of reverence for natural processes he addresses some "Strawberries growing upon Graves":

"Shall I refuse thy largess, little vine,
Because thy hungry roots feed on my dead,
Sucking from bloodless lips the blood-like wine
That dyes thy berries red?"

"Nay, all the happy, living things I see
Are of the substance of dead things that were;
The heart that loved me once sends up to me
Remembrancers of her."

"Feed me to-day; grudge not my dainty fare.
I am no beggar asking alms of thee;
One moment I enjoy thy berries rare;
Thou shalt feast long on me."

This sentimental cannibalism may be science, but it is poetry of revolting description. A like coarseness pervades the book. Bees that are "noisy little mid-air steamers," brooks that "flirt with lovelorn willows" and "spatter booby trees," lovers that "swap kisses"—there is but one word for it, it is irredeemably vulgar. We recommend the author to return to

"Saunders, the dusty-mouthed, that lives on pleas,
And chip-dry Chitty, . . . lightsome fairies,"

as he calls them, and wish him a success which he has not achieved in his service of Apollo.

It is with anticipations of pleasure, which are not disappointed, that we turn to Mrs. Alice Wellington Rollins's 'Ring of Amethyst' (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons), which we owe to a year of love and marriage of which it is mainly the record. Naturally, it recalls the Sonnets from the Portuguese, from one of which it takes its name, and in its versification and tone the influence of "H. H." is perceptible. It has a strength of its own, however, and reveals graceful womanly feeling, genuine and modest, whose expression betrays a usually careful workmanship. We are glad to read it as we are glad to have a quiet, idyllic picture on our walls. When we have said this, we have said all. There is in it no new thought, no strikingly original treatment, nothing to tempt one to return to it when it is once read. Much above mediocrity, it nevertheless shows how low our mediocrity is. There are numbers of women whose feeling under similar circumstances is as refined and as well worth expression, but is rightly suffered to remain untold, for it would not add any charm of sentiment or fancy to the lives of those likely to form its audience, nor enrich their experience. This sonnet is a fair sample of the merit and defects of the volume, and we are not certain that it might not as well have remained unwritten:

"That Love should find a way through iron bars
And close-drawn bolts—this does not seem so strange;
More strange I count it that with wider range,
With naught to mark its course beneath the stars,
Love finds its sure, swift way. That day when we
First parted, Love, how dangerously near
The chance we never met again! though clear
As the broad daylight, unrestrained and free
As breeze from heaven, naught between us lay
But the wide, shining, trackless fields of air
That gave no sign; the lonely vastness, where
Love saw no clue to guide it or to stay
Its course;—well might the lover in despair
Yield up his search; and yet Love found a way!"

Under a new name and in a new dress we find some verses in 'Pipes of Corn' (Boston: W. B. Clarke) which we have met with before. The poems, old and new, are unaffected, if they are also simple in a quite different sense. We wish Professor Shairp, who has lately been clamoring against Matthew Arnold, and bidding youthful poets give a loose rein to their ambition, could meet with this illustration of the "spontaneity" which his advice encourages. The author does not "count upon his blessed gift" too much; his verses are

"not meant with that to vie
Which into being gifted thought may nurse,
Or culture's power,"

as he confesses. If this be the case, if he has not senses and a mind more open than those of other men to the impressions and suggestions of nature, if his perceptions are not keener and his expression of them is not more direct and lucid than his neighbors may claim, for ourselves we must discourage spontaneity, and say that he will honor poetry more by his silence than by his speech. Let him attend to the simplest requirements of form, and not rhyme "stores" with "drawers," and we recommend him to obtain such mastery of counting with his five fingers as not to insert into a sonnet such a line as this:

"Of all thy tribe which ministers to man and beast."

He is not always felicitous in expressing what ideas he has; thus of Custer's men,

"Of all the band
Not one to stand,
Not one would fly."

where the first two lines express the very opposite of what is meant; and what can be the sense of this,

"Conduct her to the ivory throne
That tops my chair of state,"

and much that is like it in the book?

Most poets pray that the sins of their youth may not be remembered against them, but here is an author who has gathered together in all their

scarlet blaze his undergraduate verses at Yale and printed them with others of riper years ('Odds and Ends: Verses Humorous, Occasional, and Miscellaneous,' by Henry A. Beers. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co.) There is in them such racy humor, graceful sentiment, and general cleverness as any ordinarily intelligent "Tutor in Eng. Lit. and Rhetoric" (p. 63) is expected to possess; but one looks in vain for finished work, refined taste, or instructive thought.

Two of Mr. Beers's poems, nevertheless, have the fortune to be inserted in Mr. Rossiter Johnson's 'Play-Day Poems' (New York: Henry Holt & Co.) This collection contains the names of Lowell, Holmes, Hood, Præd, Saxe, Harte, Calverley, Gilbert, and many others, and is useful for those who cannot have the collected works of these writers. The bibliography at the end of the volume is almost worthless; the names of the publishers of the books are not given, and frequently the place of publication is omitted as well.

One poem of Mr. Longfellow's last volume ('Kéramos, and Other Poems,' Houghton, Osgood & Co.) outweighs all these others. This volume gives no occasion for new remark; the poet receives no longer praise, but thanks. Yet we wonder if it was only a pleasing sentiment which led him to close the original portion of the collection with this sonnet:

"Once upon Iceland's solitary strand
A poet wandered with his book and pen,
Seeking some final word, some sweet Amen,
Wherewith to close the volume in his hand.
The billows rolled and plunged I upon the sand,
The circling seagulls swept beyond his ken,
And from the parting cloudbank now and then
Flashed the red sunset over sea and land.
Then by the billows at his feet was tossed
A broken oar; and carved thereon he read,
'Oft was I weary when I toiled at thee';
And like a man who findeth what was lost
He wrote the words, then lifted up his head
And flung his useless pen into the sea."

CURING POVERTY.*

THE main modern improvements in the arts of healing have come from a closer study of the causes as well as of the symptoms of disease, and in directing treatment to the causes instead of to the symptoms. By many of those who seek to treat the graver and more complicated ailments of society the corresponding distinction is not in practice very clearly perceived. Except with real thinkers social pathology and therapeutics are, for the most part, little else than a discussion of symptoms. The two publications before us agree in this circumstance: they are discussions of that grave and ancient symptom of ill-being—poverty. More than this, indeed, was not to be expected in the report of the Boston Poor Commissioners. These three gentlemen, Messrs. George S. Hale, Alvah A. Burrage, and Augustus Parker, were appointed by the Mayor of Boston, in 1876, "to consider and report upon the treatment of the poor who apply to the city for relief," and their observations, as they warn us, are not to be taken as an essay upon pauperism; but they are a concise and useful account of what is doing in Boston in the way of public charity, and of its recipients. The city's expenditure upon its own poor for the ten years from 1867 to 1876, both included, was \$6,826,606, exclusive of a further sum of \$1,951,122 paid by it toward the charities of the State. The first-mentioned amount was distributed (without co-operation) by four independent boards, namely: 1. The Overseers of the Poor. 2. The Directors of the Public Institutions. 3. The Trustees of the City Council. 4. The Board of Aldermen. The ratio to the whole population of persons receiving the public aid increased during those ten years from .072 to .102; the ratio "of those aided by outdoor relief from .054 to .083, or over 50 per cent." One board alone, that of the overseers, aided nearly 21,000 persons between May, 1876, and May, 1877. There has been a large increase from year to year in the number of persons assisted. The figures indicate, too, the existence of a permanent pauper class receiving aid year by year. The number assisted for three years by the overseers was 7,332; for four years, 3,906; for five years, 1,764. Their average assistance, in the case of 39,342 persons, was for 3.15 years. "Tramps," the overseers add, "have become a very trying class, and strong measures should be taken to protect society from them." The authors of this report quote, with clear approbation, an account of the new "cellular plan" as devised for the accommodation of tramps by the guardians of Kensington. The following is a part of it:

"Each tramp will, after taking the inevitable bath, be introduced

* 'Dienaperization: A Popular Treatise on Poor-Law Evils and their Remedies. By J. R. Pretyman, M.A. Second edition, revised and enlarged.' London: Longmans. 1878. 12mo.

'Report of Commission on the Treatment of the Poor.' Boston: Rockwell & Churchill. 1878. 8vo.

to a separate sleeping-cell, warmed, lighted, and provided with every necessary, but with accommodation for one person only. Adjoining each male's cell is a work-cell, into which he is admitted in the morning to find a given quantity of granite stones, and a hammer for the cracking thereof."

With this tonic regimen may be contrasted a detail in the management of the Boston Directors for Public Institutions, "by whom," the commissioners tell us, "we find that a regular ration of tobacco, of about three ounces per week, is ordinarily allowed to paupers who use it. . . . We doubt the wisdom of this allowance." This interesting report concludes by recommending, among other measures of less importance, that all public relief, except that given by the city hospitals, should be administered by a single bureau; that out-door relief of whatever kind should be refused in the great majority of cases; that pay in work should be required, whenever it is possible, for relief; and that careful classification and record should be made of all who receive public aid. In a brief appendix some useful statistics are given, with a list of questions put by the Commissioners, and of answers given to them by the Overseers of the Poor.

Turning to Mr. Pretyman's book, we find it not very accurately named. 'The Abolishment of the English Poor Law' would be a better title for it than 'Dispauperization,' which is a quite different thing. The essay is, for the most part, an expansion of the text furnished by Sydney Smith in 1819, when he said: "There are two points which we consider as now admitted by all men of sense—first, that the Poor Laws must be abolished; second, that they must be very gradually abolished." The Poor-Law Amendment Act of 1834 "seemed to promise the ultimate abandonment of the system, but of late years retrogression has been made through the perversion of the amended law." The object of Mr. Pretyman's book is to point out its evils, and to advocate its abolition:

"If a traveller," he says, "were to report the discovery of an island in the Pacific where it was expressly ordained by law that, let any man or woman be as idle, or as improvident, or as disorderly, or as vicious as he or she pleased to be, such person could claim public support, either the traveller's veracity would be called in question, or the inhabitants of the island would be set down as a people of perverted understanding. . . . Yet the only difference between the law of this supposed island and the law of an existent island [England] is that the Pacific law expressly ordains what the law of the existent island ordains by implication."

The Commissioners of 1832 called the Poor Law "a system which aims its allurements at all the weakest parts of our nature; which offers marriage to the young, security to the anxious, ease to the lazy, and impunity to the profligate." And Mr. Pretyman adds, succinctly: "The Poor Law of England is the Magna Charta of improvidence."

Quite undeniable, indeed, are the evils which flow from this Poor Law. Apart from the direct stimulus which it gives to pauperism, it removes "the great secondary deterrents from intemperance and immorality. It discourages thrift; the laborer sees that those who have been thrifty are in no better position at last than the idler." He grows up in an atmosphere of such improvidence as is scarcely to be found elsewhere in Europe. An employer told Mr. Pretyman that he paid his workmen £200 per week every Friday, and did not think that £5 of it could be found in their pockets on Saturday. Even the farm-laborer hesitates about emigrating to colonies where, as in New Zealand, "there is no workhouse." Extravagance, too, is powerfully stimulated by the Poor Law. Mr. Mundella says that "one-third of the food of the working classes is wasted," and Mr. Pretyman adds that very many of the poor in London "will eat no bread but such as is hot from the bakers' ovens. Horses are largely fed upon bread which has been thrown away by these classes." The extravagance of the better paid hand-workers is so great, and Mr. Pretyman gives so many instances of it, that one is almost in danger of forgetting the other and darker side of the case—the existence of large classes who are underpaid, or not paid at all. In the North there are many artisans who "do not drink their wages—they eat them." At an iron-works one of the directors pointed out men "who in four days of the week—and they would work no more—earned wages to the amount of £9 10s., but whose wives and children were in rags." This director said: "I had occasion to call the other day at one of these men's houses when he happened to be just going to dinner, and the man and his wife—there were no children—were about to sit down to a sucking-pig, which the man, of his own accord, told me had cost a guinea." On a 2d of October, "the day when pheasants are first brought to sale, a master manufacturer, sending out in the forenoon to buy some of this game for his own table, found that a body of artisans had been to the market at six o'clock in the morning and had bought up the whole supply!" Mr.

Pretyman tells in connection with this the "well-known anecdote" of a party of miners who went to a hotel and ordered "the best port wine, such as gentlemen drink." The servant brought them by mistake two bottles of ketchup, which, however, the miners swallowed *æquo animo*, remarking only that it was "rather sharp."

Mr. Pretyman has made, in short, a brisk and intelligent attack upon the evils of the Poor Law. But whenever he touches the broader aspects of the subject that are intimated in the word "dispauperization" we feel the inadequacy of his discussion. His title begs the question. The abolition of the English Poor Law would be but one step, and that not the most important one of the steps that are necessary, toward the cure of English poverty. The questions of over-population and excessive competition would still remain, and they are not peculiar to England.

Memoirs of Georgiana, Lady Chatterton. With some passages from her diary. By Edward Heneage Dering. (London: Hurst & Blackett; New York: Scribner & Welford. 1878.)—This memoir, as Mr. Dering informs his readers, is rather a "memorial sketch" of his wife than a biography. He might almost have said a memorial tract, inasmuch as fully half the book is taken up with a very detailed account of Lady Chatterton's conversion to the Catholic Church. She was converted mainly through the exertions of her husband, of the Bishop of Birmingham, and of Father Newman, and we can easily conceive that the account of the process which seems to have cost the parties concerned so much thought, and the convert so much anxiety, may be full of interest to others in like situation, and that on this account the existence of this part of the book may have a religious justification. To the world at large it can hardly be said to appeal. The explanations by the worthy bishop of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and of the advantages of a celibate clergy, are, to say the least, hard reading. The arguments they contain are seldom new, and, though elaborated with a great deal of ingenuity, they can hardly have been expected by the author to have more than a memorial interest. They contain two stories, however, each of which, for different reasons, deserves preservation. One is the reply of the Irish carman to his Protestant fare (cited by the Bishop of Birmingham in a letter on the Rosary) to the effect that "one 'Our Father' is worth ten 'Hail Marys' any day." The other is a story of a conversation in which Bishop Gibson pointed out to Edmund Burke that "if all the sects separated from the Catholic Church were assembled in jury to judge any one single Catholic, on each point there would be a majority to approve his faith. For where any Protestant sect raised a point, the majority, derived from the Eastern sects and from other Protestant sects, would be on the Catholic side; and where there is an error in an Eastern sect, the other Eastern and the higher Protestant sects would be on the Catholic side." This so affected Burke that he "sunk his head between his hands and remained astounded. After a time he lifted up his face full of awe and exclaimed: 'An amazing truth! An astounding argument!' He also declared that he would go and 'tell it to Fox,' and expressed the hope that he should see the bishop soon again. Whether he did tell Fox or not, or how much the latter was 'astounded' by the argument, does not appear; for the bishop adds, 'Soon after he died.' Thus do the greatest men among the Protestants appear like little children in the face of Holy Church.

The first half of the book is made up mainly of extracts from Lady Chatterton's diary, all of which is very pleasant reading. We cannot profess any very great familiarity with her other writings (the number of her works, a list of which is given in the appendix, extends to twenty-seven, and embraces novels, translations, poetry, and religious works), but her style was admirably adapted from its simplicity and feminine grace for a diary. She had the acquaintance of all the most agreeable men of letters of her time, and gives several anecdotes, among others of Landor, Sidney Smith, Macaulay, and Rogers. Having, as a woman, met them on a plane in which enmity and rivalry were out of the question, and having evidently had the art of making people show themselves at their best, the impression she conveys is frequently, as in the case of Landor and Rogers, much more agreeable than that which they managed to produce on other people. She describes as follows her first meeting with Landor:

"I sat next Landor without knowing who he was, so that my impressions were unbiassed either by expectation or by the impression I had previously conceived of him from his writings. I have seldom seen the expression of a highly-cultivated mind and courteous genius so beautifully stamped on any countenance as on the Landor of those days. The unamiabilities which sometimes cause the wits of the day to wound the

feelings of those around seemed to be replaced in him by sentiments which touch, elevate, and flatter those who listened to him, and also tended to place in a good point of view the person or the subject on which he spoke."

So, too, of Rogers, she says:

"He is very differently agreeable with different people. With me he never makes a bitter observation on any one, but seems disposed to see their best qualities only, which seems to me the frame of mind most natural to him."

Rogers occasionally, however, in her hearing, could be "differently agreeable," as appears by her account of a breakfast, from which he explained Moore's absence by saying:

"Ah! then he has found something better. Moore is never happy unless he is dining with a duke, having refused to dine with an earl, and has got an opera ticket in his pocket which makes him wish he were dining with neither."

The reader will find many little anecdotes and "good things" scattered through the pages of Lady Chatterton's diary, which is on the whole such pleasant reading as almost to reconcile us to the religious correspondence with which it is incongruously and unnecessarily bound up.

Elements of the Laws. By Thomas L. Smith, late one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the State of Indiana. New and revised edition. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.)—The study of law in Indiana, if we may judge from this book, has advanced *pari passu* with the study of finance. This book is intended as a school-book, and purports to contain an outline "of the system of civil and criminal laws in force in the United States and in the several States." It is intended to "enable any one to acquire a competent knowledge of his legal rights and privileges in all the most important political and business relations of the citizens of the country"; and not only this, but of "the principle upon which they are founded," and, finally, "the means of asserting and maintaining them in civil and criminal cases."

The scope of the work, it will be seen, is comprehensive, as it embraces pretty much the whole body of substantive law as well as the law of evidence, pleading, practice, and process. To find all this in a small duodecimo volume of 384 pages raises many delightful anticipations. We regret to say that these are not altogether justified by the treatise. It appears to be rather an abridgment of Blackstone and Kent than an original work, though we are far from intimating that the resemblance is so close as even to suggest an infringement of copyright. As a general thing the principles of law given are stated as if the study of jurisprudence had undergone no change since Blackstone's time; and we can find no indication that the author has ever heard of Austin, or familiarized himself with his important criticisms of Blackstone's work. In his first chapter, on the Origin of Laws, we find it stated that "municipal law" signifies a "rule of action" "prescribed by the authority of a state to regulate the actions of the inhabitants in their intercourse with one another." In other words, municipal law does not affect persons not inhabitants of the state in which it prevails—a singularly mistaken idea to give a student. Again (chapter iii.), by what the author says about the binding force of precedents he conveys the impression that they derive their authority from what might be called the "custom of judges"—i.e., their habit of deciding in a particular way; without going into the discussion raised by Austin as to the true position of custom in our system of jurisprudence, it is quite certain that the authority of a judicial decision comes from the fact of its being a statement of the law on an actual matter in issue by the highest sovereign authority. If it rested on mere custom, what lawyers call *obiter dicta*—i.e., statements of judges on points not in issue—if persisted in long enough it would become binding; but no lawyer would admit this to be the case. In chapter xv., treating of the foundation of property rights there is nothing to show that the author has ever heard of communism or village communities, or of the researches of such writers as Maine or Stubbs. In speaking of *descent* (p. 64) he treats it as a mode of acquiring property introduced after men had grown familiar with conveyances *inter vivos*, whereas in some of its forms it can be traced back as far as the idea of property itself, to a period earlier than the organization of the family as we know it. As Indiana jurists may be supposed, like Indiana economists, to look upon European learning with some suspicion, we may add that the author might have found out as much as this from the work of a native American writer, Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, on 'Ancient Society.'

Besides these indications of an absence of philosophical preparation

for his work, the law as it is by no means accurately stated by Judge Smith. On page 135 he gives us the old "three degrees" of negligence, slight, ordinary, and gross, blissfully ignorant, to all appearances, that the Supreme Court of the United States (to say nothing of other tribunals) has indicated a profound scepticism on the subject of any legal distinction between them. The measure of damages in the action for the conversion of personal property, he says, is the same as in the action of trespass (p. 217), and in discussing the subject of ejectment (p. 222) he resuscitates the lifeless corpses of John Doe and Richard Roe, and introduces these two litigious ghosts to the student engaged at their old work. This is positively sacrilegious. Surely they may be permitted, after their active and hard-fought lives, to enjoy a deserved repose in a legal paradise where peace is established even between oppressed nominal plaintiffs and truculent casual ejectors.

The Speaking Telephone, Talking Phonograph, and Other Novelties. By George B. Prescott. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.)—In his brief preface the author of this volume informs his readers that he has been "much indebted," in preparing the Introduction further on, to the printed argument of an eminent patent lawyer of this city. The Introduction consists of barely six pages octavo, of which about four and a half, if properly acknowledged with inverted commas, would appear to constitute the indebtedness referred to. The small degree of originality thus indicated is a fair sample of the way in which the entire book has been made up. It is an unskilful compilation from a great variety of sources, and Mr. Prescott's individuality is to be found mainly in the arrangement of his materials with a view to disparaging the claims of Professor Bell as the inventor of the telephone, and exalting those of Mr. Elisha Gray. In addition to the subjects specified in the title there are chapters on quadruplex telegraphy, electric call-bells, and the electric light. The illustrations are many and excellent.

Gems of American Scenery, consisting of Stereoscopic Views among the White Mountains. With descriptive text. Illustrations by the Albortype process. (New York: Harroun & Bierstadt. 12mo. 1878.)—The title, as far as it goes, accurately describes this novel publication. An important addition, however, is that the front cover is ingeniously provided with a hinged flap containing stereoscopic lenses, so that each of the twenty-four views can be enjoyed without recourse to a regular instrument. We are not aware that the Albortype process has ever before been used for this purpose. The objection to it and to the kindred heliotype process is that the prints are too uneven, and at best lack something of the clearness and brilliancy of the silver print. We have, nevertheless, been agreeably disappointed to find how considerable an illusion even the poorest of the present series is capable of making, and one or two leave little to be desired. The gem is, as it ought to be, the view of Mt. Washington from the Glen (p. 71); this combines judicious "composition," an excellent negative, and exceptionally good printing. Other noticeably successful views are those of Glen Ellis Falls, the Flume, the Crawford Notch (quite spoiled by the railway), the Willey House, the Upper Falls of the Ammonoosuc, the Cathedral, and some of the minor cascades. The panoramic effects are less praiseworthy; but that about Plymouth, N. H., is fairly given. By a rigid selection of negatives and prints a second work of this kind ought to be considerably improved; and if the publishers will but furnish the inside of the back cover with a couple of tapes or elastic bands, the same lenses can be directed upon detached stereoscopic views, again saving the expense of an instrument.

Echoes from Mist-Land; or, the Nibelungen Lay, Revealed to Lovers of Romance and Chivalry, by Auber Forestier. (Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1878. 12mo, pp. 218.)—This is the first American edition of the whole 'Nibelungen Lied,' and as such deserves to be warmly welcomed. It is not a translation strictly speaking, but rather a transposing or retelling in prose form. The division into thirty-nine adventures with their appropriate headings is preserved, and Auber Forestier tells the story with remarkable faithfulness, and in a manner highly dramatic. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by an elaborate introduction, which gives a pretty full account of the various Old Norse as well as of the Old High-German versions of the epic, and traces the growth and development of epic literature among the several branches of the Aryan race. This volume will help the reader to appreciate Karl Simrock's large German edition with Schnorr's illustrations, Wilhelm Jordan's "Nibelunge," Wagner's famous tetralogy, and William Morris's last poem, "Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs."

